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ABSTRACT

To determine to what extent black African-American newspapers supported secondary desegregation efforts and to determine whether or not attitudes changed or remained constant after the initial ruling and after the 10th, 20th, and 30th, anniversaries of the May 17, 1954, "Brown versus Board of Education" decision, the editorial viewpoints of four African-American newspapers were analyzed. The newspapers were the "Los Angeles Sentinel," "Michigan Chronicle," "Norfolk Journal and Guide," and "New Pittsburgh Courier." Because of lack of availability only 10 editorials were analyzed. The data demonstrated that the 30th anniversary of the "Brown" decision in 1984 was not deemed significant enough by any of the newspapers to warrant a specific editorial statement. Findings indicated that the newspapers generally supported the original Supreme Court edict but became cynical in their editorial viewpoints as decades passed and the "all deliberate speed" mandate became one of "all deliberate delay." (Two tables of data and 30 notes are included.) (MS)

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THE BLACK NEWSPAPER'S EDITORIAL VIEWPOINT ON BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION AN ANALYSIS OF FOUR PAPERS FROM 1954-1984

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this analysis was to determine the editorial viewpoints of four African-American newspapers on the issue of secondary desegregation; and to determine whether or not those attitudes changed or remained constant after the initial ruling and after the tenth, twentieth and thirtieth anniversaries of the May 17, 1955, Brown v. Board of Education decision.

In 1954, the unconstitutionality of "separate but equal" was seen as a step forward by only a minority of the population. The uproar over the decision can still be heard today but it has been channeled into more covert means of dissension than the earlier methods of rock throwing and name-calling. As Betty Nyangoni wrote in 1984,

> Even after thirty years, many find that the circumstances and problems surrounding school desegregation are still painful, emotion-filled, and often viewed with anything but objectivity. [1]

How quickly or slowly court decisions are implemented is contingent upon a number of variables which vary according to location and situation. One researcher identified twelve such variables that include public opinion pressure, threat of publicity, activity of community action groups, pending

court decisions and ballot referendums.[2] The common denominator in all the areas is that the action is first initiated by people in any given community who desire change.

In the black community, the first rumblings of discontent can be heard in its three major institutions: the family, the church and the press. Time has proven that major social change affecting the African-American community such as the abolition of slavery and the struggle for civil rights is rooted in the family and the endeavors of black clergymen and their congregations.[3] Through articles, editorials and civic campaigns the black press has traditionally helped shape, mold and nurture the positive opinions African-Americans have about themselves, their communities and the issues that affect them on a local as well as a national basis. Education -- an area that has always been regarded as a personal matter in the majority society -- became a national issue for black America in the late 1930s when the United States Supreme Court first began to hear a series of cases involving blacks and higher education.

Through analysis of existing data, the following question will be addressed: Did and to what extent did black newspapers support secondary desegregation efforts? By analyzing and coding the editorial positions of the newspapers this question will be answered to distinguish the differences, if any, of those positions taken at the onset of the cases and the editorial positions thirty years after Brown.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Historical

Educating African-Americans has always been an issue in the United States. Prior to 1865, the system of education for slaves has been called one of "compulsory ignorance." [4] Meyer Weinberg noted in A Chance to Learn: The History of Race and Education in the United States that free black children and occasionally a slave child learned to read when whites thought they were attending sewing classes. In his autobiography, Frederick Douglass recounted the problems he had with an owner, Mr. Auld, when the master discovered his own wife, Mrs. Auld, was teaching Douglass to read. Douglass wrote that it was thought unsafe to teach a slave to read because he or she would then become "unmanageable and discontent." [5] Slave owners realized with knowledge comes power.

Public schools for black children did not come into existence until after the Civil War. And more often than not, those schools were burned to the ground with the teacher being run out of town. However, the former slaves had an ally in the form of the Freedmen's Bureau. It was established in 1865 and operated until 1872. In 1866, the Bureau supervised 90,000 black students in 975 schools. By 1869, there were more than 4,000 schools for the free blacks

which enrolled more than 250,00 students.[6] Despite what seems to be a large number of pupils, those figures only accounted for about seven percent of the school age population.[7]

Like seemingly many social welfare programs in the black community, the existence of such depends entirely or substantially upon the federal government. By 1870, federal funding for the Freedmen's Bureau schools was no longer available. In two years' time, by 1872, state financed school systems were operating throughout the South. De facto segregation was established and was to remain in operation for approximately eighty additional years. The only major interruption was the 1896 Plessy v. Ferguson decision which was the stamp of approval by law of segregation.

During the 1930s, surviving the Depression was the most important fact of life for both black and white Americans. While major new welfare reforms were being passed under The New Deal established by the Roosevelt Administration, issues like education and racial discrimination were not considered priorities on the national agenda. That changed with the new decade of protest, the 1940s, and the emergence of a new series of black leaders. A. Philip Randolph called for a March on Washington to protest hiring in wartime industry. And the age of litigation was born. Black teachers began to demand equal pay and black parents demanded equality in the education of both black and white children. Led by Thurgood Marshall, chief counsel for the National Association for the

Advancement of Colored People's Legal Defense Fund, more than 200 lawsuits were filed against Southern schools.

While the Civil Rights Movement was gathering momentum, decisions were being made in the high courts that directly affected the education of African-American youth as well as those seeking entrance into the universities of the nation. Six cases involving higher education were decided by the United States Supreme Court between 1938 and 1952. The landmark Brown v. Board of Education decision handed down by the Supreme Court on May 17, 1954, reversed the 1896 Plessy v. Ferguson decision which had declared the constitutionality of "separate but equal."

In 1955, W.E.B. DuBois, the renowned black scholar, predicted the ramifications of school desegregation that are even today being discussed in editorials, professional symposia and university lecture halls. Calling the Brown decision a "crucial dilemma" for black parents, DuBois said although they wanted quality education for their children black parents realized integrated schools would make their children suffer in other areas. DuBois also predicted the loss of strong black teachers who would, could and did act as role models, buffering agents and surrogate parents for black children.[8]

After its initial ruling that secondary schools be integrated, the Supreme Court amended itself in 1955 by adding the provision "with all deliberate speed." In some instances, communities took that edict to heart. In a great

many more there was substantial delay in administering effective integration policies, so much so that there existed districts not entirely or proportionately integrated until the 1980s.

Social Science

Since the Court's decision in 1954, countless books have been written, studies conducted and opinions offered on the merits as well as the defects in desegregating the public schools of the nation. During the four year period July, 1982 to July, 1986 alone, 551 articles, books, studies and research projects were published and entered into a national data base under the subject of desegregation. [9] An attempt to wade through that vast amount of literature excluding the work completed prior to that time would prove useless in light of the nature and scope of this analysis, which is to examine newspaper editorials. It is however necessary to provide an overview of the literature and litigation which led to the desegregation of public schools in America.

Richard Kluger provides an excellent resource in Simple Justice: The History of Brown v. Board of Education and Black America's Struggle for Equality. The work includes testimony from the Brown case and detailed accounts of the five cases that eventually merged into what has been recorded in history as Brown v. Board of Education.

In A Chance to Learn, Weinberg provided an historical framework of discrimination in education from the education of black children during slavery to the struggle for public policy in the 1950s. An article by Leslie H. Fishel Jr. entitled "Can Segregated Schools be Abolished?" appeared in the Spring 1954 edition of The Journal of Negro Education. Among other things the article's posture maintained that the American education system perpetuated the practice of prejudice and discrimination already entrenched in the mass society. [10]

When the Supreme Court said public schools should be integrated "with all deliberate speed" many Southern schools interpreted the edict to mean deliberately slow. U.S. Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren expounded that area as well as other obstacles to the implementation of Brown in The Memoirs of Earl Warren and in an article in The Atlantic entitled "Inside the Supreme Court." The Chief Justice reflected on the litigation as well as the internal discussion which led to the unanimous decision.

A written report was compiled on the proceedings of a national conference in which journalists who cover education as a beat met to discuss how successfully or unsuccessfully the desegregation effort was handled in the media. [11] In another report, Manning Marable wrote, "For many blacks, desegregated education became the vehicle through which some of their broader political demands against racism could be achieved." [12]

Marable and others have advanced the theory that no real progress has been made in education despite the so-called gains made in earlier years. [13] Additional evidence to support this view can be found in The Consequences of School Desegregation by Christine H. Rossell and Willis D. Hawley wherein they wrote

> School desegregation reminds us of just how separate we are. The myth of the melting pot and social mobility are exposed....Desegregation is a fundamental challenge to the beliefs and structures that sustain racial, ethnic and class distinctions.[14]

Rossell and Hawley expose many of the myths about desegregation in addition to the programs established for its forced implementation (busing) and its voluntary implementation (magnet schools). The issue of "resegregation," which is segregation within integrated schools through tracking and ability grouping, is also addressed in the volume.

Other major research in the area of desegregation includes the 1966 Coleman Report which "drew specific attention to the distinction between educational resources and educational outcomes." [15] The Coleman Report found that black school facilities were not inferior to white school facilities, a finding which was a setback for integrationists. [16] Raymond Breton's thesis in the study "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities

and the Personal Relations of Immigrants," was that cohesiveness and retention of cultural values is directly affected by institutions like the church and the family in any community.[17] This is directly related to the questions and concerns raised by DuBois.

METHODOLOGY

This paper represents research completed on a case study which utilized the techniques of content and comparative analysis. The purpose of the study was to compare and analyze the editorial statements published by four medium-sized black newspapers on the anniversary of the Brown decision in 1964, 1974 and 1984. The editorial support and rationale for or against desegregated schools will offer insight on the response the black community had in regard to the issue. Whether or not those editorial statements remained constant or to what degree they varied over time can best be determined through a study of the viewpoints inherent to the Brown case. This method was preferred to others such as evaluation or survey research which could alter or disrupt the already recorded unit of analysis. The case study method is also more feasible in light of the fact it would prove difficult as well as financially burdensome to trace the editorial writers of the newspapers over a thirty year

period.

The literature suggests there has been no analysis of this nature conducted in the past. The study therefore 1) serves as a foundation for additional research in the area of the media and desegregation and 2) serves as a new contribution to the study of desegregation and integration from the perspective of the African-American press. More importantly, through analysis of the data, a hypothesis for future research will be developed.

Technique of Data Collection and Limitations in Research

The nature of newspaper editorials makes it possible to answer the questions of reliability and validity without compromising one for the other. It is possible to code the manifest content of the editorials by written indicators such as "support," "in favor of," "disagree with" and/or "condemn." The use of tally sheets and tables illustrates this method of coding. The underlying meaning, posture or "attitude" of the editorials can be determined through coding of its latent content. Latent coding is used in conjunction with manifest coding to ensure that researcher bias is not the sole determinant in the analysis.[18] A system of "checks and balances" is conducive to this type of study.

Limitations were contained within the scope and the controlling variables such as circulation and publishing longevity.

Sample and Unit of Analysis

Traditionally, African-American newspapers have been published on a weekly or bi-monthly basis due to financial restraints. For the purpose of continuity and uniformity, only those newspapers which are published weekly were considered for the analysis. However, black daily newspapers such as the Chicago Daily Defender and the Atlanta Daily World do exist with large circulations and distinguished publishing histories.

Four newspapers were chosen to represent each region of the United States, Northern, Southern, Eastern and Western. Criteria for primary consideration as a publication to represent each region were 1) listed in the 1985 Editor and Publisher Yearbook as a weekly newspaper of interest primarily to blacks [19] and 2) available on microfilm from 1954 through 1984. A secondary factor for consideration was whether or not the newspaper was included in the Bell and Howell Index to Black Newspapers. [20]

Controlling variables for selection were circulation and publishing dates. Circulation serves as an indicator of a variant part. In order to limit the pool of newspapers, only medium-sized publications were considered. For this analysis, small was defined as a circulation under 15,000; medium, between 15,000 and 35,000; and large, more than 35,000. For an additional element of legitimacy, only those

newspapers with established publishing histories were considered -- the first issue published prior to 1940 with publication through 1984. It was not necessary to control for city size and population since the primary determinants were circulation and publishing dates.

Based upon the factors established above, the newspapers selected for analysis were as follows: the Los Angeles Sentinel which began publication in 1933 and is published each Thursday. It has a circulation of 29,356.[21] The Michigan Chronicle which began publication in 1936 and is published each Wednesday and has a circulation of 32,000.[22] The Norfolk Journal and Guide which began publication in 1909, is published each Wednesday and has a circulation of 20,000.[23] And, the New Pittsburgh Courier which began publication in 1905, is published each Wednesday and has a circulation of 20,977.[24]

Both the unit of analysis and the independent variable are the editorials of the newspapers. That factor which remains constant in each unit of analysis is the desegregation effort. Therefore, in 1954, the Brown decision itself is the dependent variable. In the subsequent years of 1964, 1974 and 1984, the Brown decision and commentary on the decision remains the dependent variable.

Both region and circulation were variables in the analysis of data as well as in the selection process. Region would become a variable when particular emphasis on the Brown decision or the anniversary of the decision was noted in any

given region or regions. Circulation served as a variable when the editorial viewpoint of newspapers above the median circulation of the sampling frame varied with those below the median. The median circulation figure was 25,000. It was beyond the scope of this research endeavor to determine the circulation and regional variants within newspapers which have large and small circulations as defined earlier.

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

Based upon the editorials analyzed, there is indeed evidence that the viewpoints of the four African-American newspapers varied with each passing decade. In an ideal situation there would have been sixteen editorials representative of the four newspapers in 1954, 1964, 1974 and 1984. However, only ten editorials were analyzed due to lack of availability. (See Table 1 for the availability of editorials.)

The data demonstrates that the thirtieth anniversary of the Brown decision in 1984 was not deemed significant enough for any of the newspapers to warrant a specific editorial statement. [25] The Norfolk Journal and Guide published a guest editorial by Marian Wright Edelman entitled "Struggle for Equity in Education Continues." A column by John E. Jacobs entitled "Education and Equity" also ran on the same day. The New Pittsburgh Courier did not run an editorial on Brown but on May 19 an editorial was published concerning

Table 1

Availability of Editorial on
Brown Decision or Anniversary

Newspaper	1954	1964	1974	1984
Los Angeles Sentinel	yes	no	yes	no
Michigan Chronicle	yes	yes	yes	no
Norfolk Journal and Guide	yes	yes	yes	no
Pittsburgh Courier	yes	no	yes	no

present day Jim Crow in Chicago.

The supposition that many of the editorials would embrace the Brown decision with reservations regarding its implementation and long-range effects held true. But the reservations varied in degree and format. To determine the viewpoint of each editorial, three separate attitudinal variables were developed, each with its own specific attributes. The following terms were used to define the viewpoint of the newspapers on the Brown decision and the larger desegregation/integration effort:

total support	in favor of integration, desegregation and the Brown decision
with reservations	acceptance of the decision with specific concerns regarding the social climate in the nation and its effects on education; directives to proceed with either caution or enthusiasm
not readily discernible	no editorial published; editorial position not articulated during

anniversary month

non-support — opposed to desegregation, integration and the Brown decision.

The second attitudinal variable concerned the position the newspapers established on the future of education and integrated school systems in the United States. The terms used to define this area were as follows:

optimistic — goals of desegregation would be fulfilled; would benefit youth

pessimistic — goals for desegregation were unreasonable; not likely to improve or benefit youth

skeptical — future of desegregation contingent upon many variables

neutral — no position.

The third attitudinal variable was the overall "atmosphere" of the editorial. [26] Classification terms were liberal, moderate and conservative. (See Table 2 for findings.)

To determine reliablility in the study, written

Table 2

Attitude of Newspaper Toward Desegregation Issue

Los Angeles Sentinel	Michigan Chronicle
1954 total support/optimistic/liberal	1954 total support/optimistic/moderate
1964 not readily discernible	1964 with reservations/skeptical/liberal
1974 with reservations/skeptical/moderate	1974 with reservations/skeptical/liberal
1984 not readily discernible	1984 not readily discernible
Norfolk Journal and Guide	**New Pittsburgh Courier**
1954 with reservations/neutral/conserv.	1954 with reservations/skeptical/conserv.
1964 with reservations/skeptical/liberal	1964 not readily discernible
1974 with reservations/skeptical/liberal	1974 with reservations/skeptical/liberal
1984 not readily discernible	1984 not readily discernible

indicators which consisted of phrases or words expressing the overall sentiment of the editorials were noted. For example, in 1954, the Los Angeles Sentinel called the Brown decision the "greatest since the Emancipation Proclamation" while the Pittsburgh Courier considered it "so drastic a change." [27]

On the tenth anniversary of the decision in 1964, the Norfolk Journal and Guide dedicated its entire front page to the desegregation issue with an eight-column headline, "The School Decision -- A Momentous Decade After." The accompanying editorial for that issue criticized Southern states for their rate of implementation of Brown. A portion of the editorial read: Mississippi's 'deliberate speed' is so tortoise-slow that it yet hasn't a single Negro child in any integrated school. [28] In addition, the newspaper printed a box score which was prepared by the United Press International wire service on the rate of integration in the Deep South and its border states. A decade after the decision, South Carolina and Alabama had enrolled only ten and eleven black students respectively. [29]

The Pittsburgh Courier and the Los Angeles Sentinel did not make editorial reference to Brown on the tenth anniversary. The Courier did however carry an editorial on integration in Catholic parochial schools with reference to the decade since Brown.

With the exception of 1954 and the initial ruling, the twentieth anniversary of Brown in 1974 was the only year each newspaper published a specific editorial. Both the

Pittsburgh Courier and the Norfolk Journal and Guide published special articles and columns commemorating the anniversary. The Journal and Guide summarized the attitude of all four newspapers in its front page headline, "Stall Continues on Supreme Court's 1954 Ruling."

The ten year period from 1964 to 1974 was one of the most turbulent in American history. The Vietnam War created severe political tensions. Martin Luther King, Robert Kennedy and Malcolm X were gunned down. The cities burned and the campuses exploded. In 1972, a break-in was discovered at the Democratic headquarters in Washington, D.C. Two years later, the President of the United States resigned his position. All of the newspaper editorials expressed the disillusionment that was characteristic of the nation during that period. In a signed column for the Los Angeles Sentinel, publisher Leon H. Washington Jr. said it was possible that total desegregation could be achieved "maybe in the next 20 years," by 1994. [30] It was ironic that the prediction was made because in 1954, the Sentinel optimistically declared that it would take "perhaps" until as late as 1960 for the transition from segregation to integration to be complete.

Despite overall skepticism and "dwindling enthusiasm" about the future of desegregation in education, all of the newspapers maintained that great strides had been made in integration and social awareness due to the impetus from Brown.

As stated in the methodology, region could prove a

variable in the findings. The Western paper, the Los Angeles Sentinel, did not place as much emphasis on desegregation as did the Southern and Eastern newspapers. The fact that Eastern and Southern areas were more directly affected by desegregation orders could account for the added emphasis on the importance, whether positive or negative, of segregation. Circulation was found to be a variable in analysis when the two papers above the 25,000 median circulation figure -- The Los Angeles Sentinel and the Michigan Chronicle -- placed more emphasis on the descriptiveness of their editorials than did the papers below the median circulation, the New Pittsburgh Courier and the Norfolk Journal and Guide. The Guide, which represented the South, and the Courier, which represented the East, placed more emphasis on the desegregation effort by marking the anniversary with special sections. The newspapers representing the West and the North were more apt to include a greater number of indicators in the editorials which determined the viewpoint of the newspaper. For example, the Sentinel and the Chronicle used words and phrases like "milestone," "gives hope," "noted with mixed emotions," "disenchantment," and "dwindling enthusiasm" more often than the Courier and the Journal and Guide.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This study was limited to an analysis of the editorials of four newspapers on the 1954 Brown v. Board of Education Supreme Court decision and the subsequent anniversaries of that decision. Through analysis of the data, it was found that the newspapers generally supported the original Supreme Court edict but became cynical in their editorial viewpoints as decades passed and the "all deliberate speed" mandate became one of "all deliberate delay."

The findings of this study can be further investigated based on the hypothesis that circulation and regional variants play a major role in determining the viewpoint of a given newspaper on this or any issue. Since the literature suggests there has been no analysis of this nature conducted in the past, the groundwork has been established for the utilization of a larger sampling frame. Critical to a total understanding of the editorial viewpoints of black newspapers concerning the desegregation effort is a comparative analysis of newspapers with small, medium and large circulations in the Northern, Southern, Eastern and Western regions of the country.

While this study generated the hypothesis needed to propel future research efforts, its scope limited it to an analysis of the editorials published once every ten years. The subtle shifts and alterations in viewpoint inherent to any newspaper on a monthly or yearly basis are important

variants to analysis and should be investigated in the future.

NOTES

1 Betty Nyangoni, review of The Consequences of School Desegregation, by Christine H. Rossell and Willis D. Hawley, The Journal of Negro Education 53 (Fall 1984):499.

2 Kenneth B. Clark, "Some Principles Related to the Problem of Desegregation," The Journal of Negro Education 23 (Summer 1954):341. The remaining variables affecting implementation of desegregation were as follows: population changes, moral arguments, personal decision of a responsible authority, non-judicial government action, court action and legislative action. These variables can apply to any issue that evokes strong public sentiment, such as abortion, gay rights and capital punishment.

3 For additional information on this topic see Charles Joyner, Down by the Riverside, Chapter Five; and John W. Blassingame, The Slave Community, Chapter Three.

4 Meyer Weinberg, A Chance to Learn: The History of Race and Education in the United States (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 11. Weinberg noted that the term "compulsory ignorance" was traced to James Simpson of the Society of Friends in England. "In 1865, after visiting Richmond, Virginia, he described the lack of learning shown by slave children as they attended their first schools: 'Their ignorance has, in fact, been compulsory.'" (p. 368)

5 Frederick Douglass, Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass (New York: Signet, 1968), p. 49.

6 Roger L. Ransom and Richard Sutch, One Kind of Freedom: The Economic Consequences of Emancipation (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 24.

7 Ibid., p. 25.

8 Weinberg, p. 87.

9 The words desegregation, secondary and elementary desegregation, desegregation litigation and desegregation plans were entered into the Automated Reference Service at The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. Many of the articles in the data base pertained to the desegregation effort in higher education. A great number of the 551 entries were available within the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) system. The search was conducted at the time of the original research to ascertain the most recent literature on the subject.

10 Leslie H. Fishel Jr., "Can Segregated Schools Be Abolished?" The Journal of Negro Education 23 (Spring 1954):110.

11 Meyer Weinberg and Gertrude Martin, eds., Covering the Desegregation Story: Current Experience and Trends (Evanston, Illinois: Center for Equal Education, 1976).

12 Manning Marable, From the Grassroots (Boston: South End Press, 1980), p. 185.

13 Ibid., p. 198.

14 Christine H. Rossell and Willis D. Hawley, The Consequences of School Desegregation (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1983), pp. 4, 5.

15 U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, National Institute of Education, The Desegregation Literature: A Critical Appraisal (1976), p. 5.

16 Ibid., p. 6.

17 Brett W. Hawkins and Robert A. Lorinskas, eds., The Ethnic Factor in American Politics (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co., 1970), Chapter One, pp. 45-62.

18 Earl Babbie, The Practice of Social Research (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1983), p. 279.

19 Although Columbus, Ohio, was a city most recently involved in a court-ordered desegregation plan, the Columbus Call and Post, the African-American newspaper in the city, was not considered for analysis because it was not listed in the 1985 Editor and Publisher Yearbook and was only available on microfilm from January 1972 through December 1984. (The Akron, Cincinnati, Cleveland and Youngstown, Ohio editions of the Call and Post were included in the Yearbook.)

20 The index was not utilized as a primary consideration because it was not created until 1977. According to Eleanor Murphy-Daniel, a co-compiler of the initial Bell and Howell Index, geographical location and population concentration of blacks were the variables which determined which newspapers would be utilized in the index.

21 1985 Editor and Publisher Yearbook (New York: Editor and Publisher, 1985), p. II-69. Circulation figures for the Los Angeles Sentinel were reported as 34,985 for 1986 in the 1986 Editor and Publisher Yearbook. The Sentinel is owned by Ruth Washington.

22 Ibid. Circulation figures for the Michigan Chronicle decreased from 32,000 to 25,800 in 1986. Both the Chronicle and the New Pittsburgh Courier are owned by John Sengstacke.

23 Ibid., p. II-70. The Norfolk Journal and Guide is owned by Milton A. Reid.

24 Ibid. The name of the newspaper was changed from the Pittsburgh Courier to the New Pittsburgh Courier in 1967 when its ownership changed.

25 All issues published during May 1984 were reviewed for editorials or columns on Brown or in reference to the anniversary. It was often necessary to search each week to ensure material had not been overlooked. For example, following the initial decision in 1954, due to the constrictions of a weekly publication schedule, most of the newspapers carried the Brown decision as the lead story along with editorial statements on May 20 and May 22. However, the Pittsburgh Courier did not include Brown in its May 22 issue. Related articles and editorials did not appear until the following week in the May 29 national edition.

In 1984, the May 12, May 19 and May 26 issues of the Michigan Chronicle were searched for any reference to the Brown anniversary. An identical search was conducted in the May 3, May 10, May 17 and May 21 issues of the Los Angeles Sentinel.

26 This is an area alluded to in the methodology where researcher bias can affect the analysis. In a replication of the study, this attitudinal variable would differ form the findings established in the original project.

27 Los Angeles Sentinel, 20 May 1954, p. 1 and Pittsburgh Courier, 29 May 1954, p. 6.

28 Norfolk Journal and Guide, 16 May 1964, p. 8.

29 Ibid. United Press International graphic, p. 1.

30 Los Angeles Sentinel, 16 May 1974, p. A-6.